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# Student Institute of Pacific Relations

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**5th Annual Conference**

**November 27-30, 1930**

**Lokoya Lodge, Napa, California**



# **Student Institute of Pacific Relations**

**VOLUME V**

**History, Organization  
& Proceedings**

**Edited by MIRIAM STROUT**

**5th Annual Conference**

**November 27-30, 1930**

**Lokoya Lodge, Napa, California**





## FOREWORD

THE more people who come together on an intelligent international basis the better it will be; for the contacts they make will do much to create a better understanding of each other's attitude toward world affairs.

Youth movements such as the Student Institute of Pacific Relations are useful in the long run, though there may be a good deal said and done at such meetings that is not wise. Nevertheless it is a way of gaining wisdom and understanding to guide one in the future.

Meetings like this are extremely valuable in this respect: they not only inform students but encourage them to think. It is not our business to give students opinions but to help make them capable of forming their own. Furthermore, impressions of internationalism gained at the Institute will have an influence on the delegates which will be reflected in later life. It is in trust to this later life that most important teaching is directed.

—DAVID STARR JORDAN, 1928.



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# THE STUDENT INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

## Its History and Organization

THE Institute was organized by a group of Stanford and California students who discovered that they held in common a desire to meet together to discuss freely problems of international interest. They summoned to their aid campus organizations such as international relations and cosmopolitan clubs, the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. and so formed what they called a "sponsoring council." This Sponsoring Council was composed of official representatives from internationally inclined organizations of the University of California, San Jose State Teachers' College, Mills College, Pacific School of Religion, College of the Pacific and Stanford University. It selected an executive committee and thus initiated a program of development which resulted in the first annual conference, held during the Thanksgiving holidays of 1926. The newly formed Institute then settled down to a policy of annual conferences at this time. Through the courtesy of Professor E. A. Rogers the first three were held at Montezuma Mountain School for Boys near Los Gatos. The last two were at Lokoya Lodge, Napa, where it is hoped future meetings will be held.

The policy has been to keep costs low. Rates are secured for meals and housing, and the only Institute charge is a small fee to cover secretarial expenses and publication of the bulletin. The officers are unsalaried. The fourth conference was fortunate in receiving help from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to the extent of a hundred-dollar check, specifically in connection with the Endowment's work with International Relations Clubs in the leading California colleges.

Under the present form of organization a Secretary is in charge of the Institute work during the year. She keeps in touch with the other members of the Executive Committee and in the spring calls a meeting of the Sponsoring Council to plan the next conference. There new officers are elected and topics suggested for future discussions. The Institute's next activity is at the opening of the fall term, when advance publicity is sent out and delegates are registered. An effort is made to keep the registration representative of as many different races as possible. Official delegates are accepted first and then as many others are allowed to attend as can be accommodated. The Executive Committee takes active charge of the conference proper. The round table leaders are students—either those who are working for advanced degrees or those who are otherwise qualified to head the discussions—for in all respects it is essentially a student institute.

Each succeeding year the Secretary has been harder pressed by applications for attendance. The new International House in Berkeley has stimulated interest. As it is considered advisable to keep the Institute local in character, and to limit the attendance, other similar institutes have been organized—one in Oregon and, possibly, one in Southern California.



# THE 1930 CONFERENCE

## Executive Committee and Round Table Leaders



*Top Row: Kingman, Kawai, Radius, Noble*  
*Bottom Row: Bell, Silverman, Strout, Johnson, Lin*

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### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

*General Chairman, Harry L. Kingman*

*Secretary, Sydney Silverman*      *Financial Manager, Walter Radius*

*Publicity Director, Miriam Strout*

### ROUND TABLE LEADERS

T. C. Lin      Harold J. Noble  
Reginald Bell      George Johnson  
Kazuo Kawai

# THE 1930 CONFERENCE

## Program:

### THURSDAY

4: 00-6: 00—Registration of Delegates  
6: 30—Thanksgiving Dinner  
7: 45-10: 00—Opening Sessions

### FRIDAY

8: 15—Breakfast  
9: 00-11: 00—Sessions  
12: 15—Luncheon  
1: 30-3: 30—Sessions  
6: 00—Dinner  
7: 45—Address by Chester Rowell,  
"Today and Tomorrow in the  
Pacific Area"

### SATURDAY

8: 15—Breakfast  
9: 00-11: 00—Sessions  
12: 15—Luncheon  
1: 30-3: 30—Sessions  
6: 00—Dinner  
7: 45-10: 00—Plenary Session

### SUNDAY

8: 30—Breakfast  
9: 30—Business Meeting and Ad-  
journment of Conference

## Report of the Financial Manager

Generous contributions from the following are acknowledged:

Elliot G. Mears, *Honorary Treasurer*

Wallace Alexander  
Stanford Associated Students  
T. O. Boardman  
Frances Cahn  
A. B. C. Dohrmann  
Alfred I. Esberg  
Perry Evans  
Edward Faucett  
Philip J. Fay

Rev. Edward J. Hanna  
Robert N. Lynch  
Duncan McDuffie  
Mrs. Alfred McLaughlin  
C. F. Michaels  
Dr. Aurelia Reinhardt  
W. M. Stephens  
Mrs. Jesse Steinhart  
Payson J. Treat

### RECEIPTS

Balance from 1929 . . . . .	\$ .15
Donations . . . . .	190.00
At Lokoya Lodge . . . . .	709.56
<hr/> Total Receipts . . . . .	<hr/> \$899.71

### DISBURSEMENTS

To Lokoya Lodge . . . . .	\$720.00
Conference Expenses:	
Chairman . . . . .	\$ 6.20
Secretary . . . . .	6.65
Manager . . . . .	5.70
Announcements . . . . .	15.25
<hr/> Publication and distri- bution 400 bulletins . . . . .	<hr/> \$143.23
<hr/> Total Disbursements . . . . .	<hr/> \$897.03
<hr/> Balance on Hand . . . . .	<hr/> \$ 2.68

# SUMMARIES OF ROUND TABLE DISCUSSIONS

## 1. "China Today"

*Leader:* T. C. LIN, Department of Oriental Languages, University of California.

### *Political History:*

The form and nature of the present Chinese Government was first discussed. While it was considered still premature to speak of any effective central government for China, the Nanking Government may lead to further constructive development. It is a party dictatorship under the Kuomintang; but unlike the Fascists or the Bolsheviks, the Kuomintang looks forward to the eventual establishment of a constitutional government. It was pointed out that since the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1912, China has passed through three periods of political evolution: (1) the period of the reactionary Monarchists, (2) the period of the Warlords, and (3) the period of the Nationalists. Throughout the history of China two opposing forces have been playing against each other: the force of unionism and centralization, and the force of separatism and decentralization. The former is the result of cultural unity and imperial tradition while the latter is the result of the size of the country and the ambition of local authorities. These two forces were inherited directly from the past in spite of the Revolution of 1911. During the early years of the Republic, the Monarchists dominated the political life of the country and attempted to enforce unification and centralization through the restoration of the Monarchy. When the Monarchists failed, the Warlords came to the front, representing the separatist and decentralist force. The Warlords in turn gave way and since 1927 there has been a period of Nationalist predominance. The Monarchists are a dead factor. The Warlords are a dying force. The two outstanding Warlords remaining—Feng and Yen—are supposedly the most progressive of the Warlords but their armed opposition to the Nanking regime has just collapsed as a result of the intervention of Chang Hsieh-Liang from Manchuria. Is Chang going to co-operate consistently with the Nanking Government? While some among the group were inclined to think that Chang is still too much of a Warlord to desist from following in the footsteps of his father, the opinion of the majority seems to be that in case the Nanking Government should take no overt step to establish its control north of the Yellow River, there would be no reason for Chang's not co-operating with Nanking, especially as Chang is now badly pressed by both the Japanese and Russians in Manchuria.

The Communists were recognized as a new force. However, since their failure to turn the Nationalist movement into a Communist one in 1927, their political activities have passed from open fighting to quiet preparation. They are concentrating their propaganda and organization



on the lower strata of the workers and farmers rather than on the students. The present strength of the Communists has been exaggerated. The activities of the bandits, consisting largely of hunger-stricken people and ex-soldiers, should not be confused with the Communist activities proper, though indeed the Communists took some part in their affairs and count on future support in these bandit organizations. The actual menace to the Nanking regime is more from the side of the Warlords than from the Communists. As one of the ways of curtailing the power of the Warlords, the Cabinet has just passed a resolution to divide the provinces into smaller units. But any permanent solution depends perhaps, as one member of the group pointed out, on the development of means of communication and the elimination of illiteracy. The party dictatorship of Kuomintang, which seems to be the only alternative to monarchy or personal dictatorship in a country of much illiteracy such as China, has met serious criticism from the Chinese intellectuals. The Nanking Government recently announced that a national convention will be called in May, 1931, to draw up a permanent constitution. The future of the political life of China depends on the success or the failure of this convention.

In her external relations, China has experienced a marked ascendancy in recent years. First of all, tariff autonomy has been acquired. As to the concessions, Belgium returned the concession at Tientsin, and the British returned the concessions at Hankow, Kiukiang, Chiakiang and Amoy. The British also returned the leased territory of Weihaiwei, reserving, however, the use of Liukungtao for ten years. The mixed court at Shanghai has been put under Chinese jurisdiction. Out of the twelve members of the Municipal Council of the International Settlement of Shanghai, five seats are Chinese. These issues are solved or partially solved. The discussion turned to issues yet to be solved, and concentrated around the problem of extraterritoriality. China has declared the abolition of extraterritoriality, but the powers have not given their concurrence; nor did the Chinese take any actual step to carry out their declaration. Apparently, the situation will have to be relieved through further settlement.

The unsatisfactory character of extraterritoriality is recognized by the Powers as well as the Chinese. The Powers, however, objected to its abolition right now; and reasons for their objection are chiefly that the Chinese judicial codes and systems are not up to the standard of the West; that the Chinese judicial administration is not free from political interference, and that Chinese judges are apt to be partial to Chinese as against the foreigners. In answering this last point, the Chinese delegate argued that foreign consuls, untrained in the legal profession or in judicial discrimination, are by far more subject to partiality toward their own nationals as against the Chinese; that the record of cases involving the Germans and the Russians, who have renounced their extraterritorial right, proves substantially the sound character of the Chinese judges, and that there are no sufficient grounds for estimating the character of the Chinese judges on a different plane from that of the judges of all the rest of the world. As to the problem of judicial codes and systems, the



Chinese have already published their new codes which are modeled after the Western standard. The question therefore really devolves into whether the Chinese judges are carrying out these new codes and whether they can carry them out without interference from the executive. One member of the group made the point that the few outstanding cases in the past where the Chinese executive authorities interfered with the judicial, were cases involving Chinese internal politics. Foreigners not implicated in internal politics need have no fear of executive interference. The fundamental point in the controversy is: The Chinese regard the abolition of extraterritoriality as a political problem affecting their national sovereignty and honor, while the Powers refuse to consider it such. The British have agreed to abolish it in all but five major treaty ports, but the Chinese feel that it is in these major ports that the abolition of extraterritoriality is most acutely needed.

Important as the problem of extraterritoriality is, the future diplomacy of China will meet its most trying test, so it was felt, in the problems of Manchuria and Mongolia, which involve the political and territorial ambitions of two close neighbors of China—Imperialist Japan and Soviet Russia.

### *The Economic Situation:*

Next were considered the economic aspects of China today. The obstacles to industrialization were listed as follows: lack of available capital, lack of easy means of communication, pressure of foreign competition, lack of a unified system of currency, taxation (*likin*), etc., weight of the traditional methods of production and exchange, lack of modern and trained personnel, and the absence of a stable government. This last point is the most important. Without a stable government, a systematic and effective solution of other problems is impossible. An honest government, capable of enforcing peace is the first requirement. The discussion turned to what the foreign nations can do to help China set up a stable government. The possibility of help from the League of Nations in this respect was suggested, the reorganization of Austrian finance being cited as a precedent. But the difficulties arising from the political character of the problem of establishing a Chinese government were immediately perceived to be quite different from the essentially economic and technical problem of Austrian finance.

The task of setting up a government must be left to the Chinese themselves. What the Powers can do is to supply capital and technical knowledge. The Nanking Government is asking for these two things from the outside. In the meantime attempts have been made to reorganize the finances and abolish the *likin*. Plans for railway construction have been drawn up but any appreciable accomplishment is seen only in Manchuria. So far most of the constructive economic work has been done by popular associations with or without the support of provincial governments. Rapid construction of highways, the organization of various industrial and commercial corporations and similar developments are steadily modernizing

the material aspects of Chinese life. In surveying the industrial future of China, it was felt that while China probably ranks highest among the Asiatic nations in basic mineral resources such as coal and iron, her chance as a first rate industrial nation is not altogether great. One great asset of hers is the immense supply of man power. However, the facts that more than 80 per cent of the population lives in rural districts and that she has a none-too-rich supply of mineral resources seems to point to the conclusion that China's economic future lies more with agriculture than with industry.

### *Social Problems:*

In regard to the social aspects of China, two outstanding problems (labor and family), resulting from the advent of industrialism, were discussed. The labor movement was found to have been started by the influence of the economic factor in the political activities of 1926 to 1927 and to have continued to the present day of government regulation. The recent laws regulating labor conditions and labor's relation to capital represent the first governmental attempt to tackle this greatest of modern social problems. The actual execution of these laws is handicapped by the ineffective control of the central government over the provinces and the impossibility of their application in foreign factories on account of extra-territoriality. It was also mentioned that the success and the political influence of the Chinese labor movement will depend more upon the organization of the farmers than on that of the industrial workers.

Under the double pressure of Western ideals and industrialism, the Chinese family is breaking up in size and in character. The exodus from the land to the city is beginning, which helps to undermine the sanctity of the ancestor home. In the educated class, a small family is distinctly favored. But in all likelihood, the traditional sentimental and moral bond between the parents and the children will retain much of its hold in the new Chinese family life.

## 2. "Race Prejudice on the Pacific Coast as It Concerns the Student"

*Leaders:* REGINALD BELL, Department of Education, Stanford University and GEORGE M. JOHNSON, Attorney at Law, Berkeley, California.

The leaders of the round table proposed as an outline of the discussion, four major questions which were taken up as follows:

### 1. *What are the specific manifestations of race prejudice in student life?*

Vivid personal experiences of racial discrimination were described by Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos and Negroes in the group. A Filipino boy found student dances at which he had been received with no evident discrimination, barred to him when he brought half a dozen of his Filipino student friends with him. A Japanese boy who "cut in" on the white girls at the senior high school dance was called into the principal's office and asked, in the future, to confine his dancing partners to Japanese girls present. Other Japanese students who in the cosmopolitan high school social life had felt no racial discrimination, found at college and university that there was no conventional social contact between whites and Japanese.

Negroes in the section reported painfully embarrassing experiences in the attempted purchase of theater tickets. Some theaters close their doors to non-Caucasians, avoiding violation of the law against the discrimination by reporting a full house; others sell only gallery seats to Negroes. Exasperating yet amusing experiences were told of friends—mixed groups of whites and non-Caucasians—being forced to sit in different parts of the theater—main floor for whites, gallery for non-Caucasians. The above type of experience is a good evidence of the statement that, "When some 'Americans' treat members of all races on a democratic basis, there is often a double rebound. The 'Americans' lose status and their racial friends are made to feel decidedly uncomfortable."

The same sort of discrimination is prevalent, of course, in the social fraternity life of the campus. Non-Caucasians, whether Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos or Negroes, are not eligible for membership in national fraternities, even though for valid social or financial reasons a local chapter might want to include a member of such a race among its novitiates. Jewish, Negro, and Japanese fraternities and sororities are developing, which while satisfying to a certain extent the individuals concerned, tend to solidify racial lines and barriers between racial groups.

In all forms of athletics the problem of race prejudice had been encountered by members of the group or by their friends. One Los Angeles high school, if it had put its best team on the basketball floor, would have had an all Negro team. The school administration was afraid to do that, for obvious reasons, and so ruled that the Negro participants on the team could not exceed 40 per cent—the proportion of Negroes in the school

population! The school put an inferior team on the floor and—from the white population's standpoint—avoided a race issue. From the standpoint of the indignant Negro players the issue was raised, not met.

A college team was asked to leave a star tackle—colored—at home when it journeyed to the Middle West to play a university team there. It did so. A Chinese halfback under one coach, starred for his team. A new coach was hired, with new ideas of play—and prejudices. The Chinese did not play the senior year in the place he had held for two years. The implication seemed obvious to his friends.

In other lines of interscholastic competition, the Oriental or Negro often has to prove his complete superiority before being granted equality. A Japanese who had won in a local forensic contest saw the second place winner sent on to the national contest to represent the district, while he himself had the "sop" thrown to him of making the trip as observer. A Filipino who won an oratorical contest learned that the judges were severely criticized by his fellow students for awarding him first place. Segregation in separate schools seems to have the same kind of superiority-inferiority discriminatory belief behind it.

Residential segregation is a rapidly increasing evidence of race prejudice. Covenant clauses are being written into deeds by property owners over an increasing area. These agreements run with the land in perpetuity, "that no part of the lands now owned by the parties hereto, . . . shall ever be used or occupied by any person or persons other than of the Caucasian race." This type of covenanting clause has been held constitutional by the highest court of the State. Realty associations and banks, as well as unscrupulous lawyers, are behind the movement, ostensibly because of economic reasons. The result is, of course, that desirable residence districts are closed to non-Caucasian citizens.

The argument runs like this: "Non-Caucasian occupants allow their property to run down—look at their shabby homes if you want to know what they like to live in. Would you like *that* sort of home next door to you? Look at the neighborhood they live in. Would you like to live there?"

The question is never put: do *they* like to live there? Of course they don't. As their standard of living rises they want to do what we all do: move into better neighborhoods. Only by property covenants, it is made impossible for them to do so.

Some members asked for facts relating to the "property depreciation" argument. Depreciation on the basis of lesser demand from white renters and buyers was admitted, but it was pointed out that residential property values are based primarily on capitalized rental income, and that rents do not go down in districts that are newly opened to non-Caucasians. They may drop temporarily to white renters, but they do not go down to non-Caucasian renters. Real estate speculators have found it immensely profitable business to hold and rent or sell property to anxious non-Caucasian renters or purchasers in such areas. Hurried selling on the part of fearful white residents provides speculators with easy money. The property



retains its value to them and to the non-Caucasian purchaser. The loss, if any, is sustained by the original white owner to salve his pride or puff up his superiority complex. The basis of residential segregation seems to be psychological, not economic; but the fact of residential segregation is clear.

One other area of prejudice was described—that affecting vocational opportunity. One Chinese boy, speaking for the second generation Orientals, described them as a group that were given “all the rights of American citizens and denied all of the opportunities.” He cited instances where Chinese-Americans had attained a high degree of training for professions and had been unable to secure positions afterwards. An electrical engineer with a degree from Stanford clerks in a small retail electrical equipment store. Another sells insurance. The employer to whom he had applied for work “had no race prejudice, you understand,” but his men “would not work under a Chinaman or Jap.” An Oriental dental student had his work cast aside by the instructor; a Caucasian retrieved it and turned it in as his work, receiving an “A” grade on it. College graduates, unable to get jobs, join their fathers and uncles in fruit selling and fishing. Higher education for vocations is almost a figment of the imagination among second-generation Orientals, as among large numbers of Negroes. A fatalistic and apathetic attitude among the non-Caucasian groups toward higher education is imminent.

## II. *What are the fundamental causes of race prejudice in student life?*

The group listed a wide range of possible factors as important causes underlying the specific manifestations discussed under question I.

1. *Fear of public opinion.* We inherit a public opinion toward the non-Caucasian groups which is in itself a perpetuating cause of our present racial attitudes. Family opinion too is strong; parents and brothers and sisters hate to be made conspicuous by members of the family circle who flaunt racial taboos.

2. *Historic and economic background.* The non-Caucasian groups, with perhaps the exception of the American Indians, entered the United States in a servile status, and as representatives of a low economic labor group. The Negroes were brought here as slaves. It has been said that “America, in trying to solve an economic problem introduced a racial problem of gigantic proportions.” “The Chinese coolies came to work on the railroad construction projects and mining adventures and remained to cook or become laundrymen. The Japanese came as agricultural laborers or as fishermen. In all these cases, the color and racial characteristics of the group became the badge of servility. We judged them inferior, first because of their economic status; then we recognize their status by their color. Soon we translate actual economic inferiority into supposed mental-character inferiority. Their color now becomes their badge of inferiority.

3. *“Lump Classification.”* By this process we have arrived at a group judgment, rather than an individual appraisal. This “lump classification”

is at the root of prejudice-activity. Colored persons whom we might like as individuals, we dismiss as members of an inferior group.

4. Allied to this is the fact of *clannishness*—forced or natural—on the part of the minority group. The Japanese and the Chinese have banded together as separate immigrant groups, and even in student life have not sought interracial contacts. They are more comfortable with their own people. They have united in labor disputes and forced employers to treat them as representatives of a race or a national group rather than as individuals. On the campus they are apt to regard as racial discrimination, refusals of association on the part of white students which may be based on individual preference.

5. *Early immigrants retained their Japan-centered or China-centered interests.* They came to make money. They were not interested in assimilating with our civilization. These historical conditions, not true to the picture now, remain in the public mind to color our own judgments and actions. Old beliefs, like old habits, cling to us long after the situations from which they sprang and the purposes which they served, have passed.

6. *Fear of intermarriage* between individuals of different races is fundamental. All racial arguments among white students come sooner or later to the question, "Well, would you like your sister to marry a Negro, (or Japanese, or Chinese)?" From this point on frankness becomes difficult. Because intermarriage is the bugaboo of race discussions it is important. Sessions that continued long after midnight found most students agreeing that biological objections are without foundation. Several students seriously questioning the monstrosity of the social disadvantages (loss of status and loss of friends). Loss of status, it was pointed out, is not an inevitable resultant, while loss of friends raises a query as to the original genuineness of such friendships. Insufficient as biological data are, bearing on either side of the intermarriage question, there is a public mind set that condemns it. Negro-white marriages are made unlawful by legislation in twenty-six states, and Mongolian-white in nine, including most of the states where the main body of Japanese and Chinese are resident. While some happy and healthy homes are recorded as a result of miscegenation, the social consequences at present seem so dire to most of us, that all social barriers between the races are regarded as preventatives of this final step, and attempts to do away with them must be regarded in this light.

One comment of interest should be made before going to the next general question. The point of view was advanced by one scholarly Chinese that there was no such thing as race prejudice. To discuss specific manifestations of prejudice under that head was unfortunate, because race prejudice is an illusion of the public mind. None of the actual causes of prejudice listed is racial. All are economic, social, cultural, not racial. Antagonism grows out of these various factors, not out of the fact of race. Any strategy directed at dissipating the illusion of race prejudice and smashing the causes of group prejudice must be directed at economic,

historical, psychological, and social factors, not at racial distinctness as such.

### III. *Do the members of the section want to change the situation and eliminate race prejudice? Why or why not?*

Two arguments were advanced against changing the present situation in spite of its pain and injustice.

1. The present distinctness of racial groups guarantees differences and prevents a nation of robots.

2. Change in present prejudicial discrimination would lower the bars to intermarriage.

Neither argument stood the test of critical examination. The valuable cultural differences in the world today are not maintained by race prejudice or prejudicial action on the Pacific Coast, but by actual historical growth of great cultures in various parts of the world. Second, if the deleterious effects of intermarriage are primarily social because of public opinion, then the changing of that public opinion would do away with the only valid argument which we have against intermarriage. The teeth of this argument are thus drawn.

But what positive reasons for a change did the group advance?

1. Good brains are going to waste in the Negro and Oriental groups, in the denial of vocational opportunity to their best young folks, and in the deadening, fatalistic philosophy which is being generated among them. We cannot use them in civic and community leadership at a time when all leadership is vitally demanded. We cannot in fairness to them even train them for leadership.

2. Our present attitude is in fundamental conflict with American ideals of equality of opportunity and of justice for all. Idealists who accept the present situation lose their intellectual and moral integrity, and undercut their own growth possibilities. There is a principle of democracy—that inequalities should be based on individual abilities, not on group labels, whether they be of color, of social position, or of religious belief.

3. The actual suffering on the part of individuals of the "minority" groups demands a change. The constant production of embittered and stunted human beings is socially menacing, as well as definitely tragic.

4. Doing away with racial discriminations would be a step toward world peace. Quite apart from the "literature of fear" of the Grant-Stoddard-Chamberlain type, the supposition developed in the group was that race prejudice is due often to ignorance, narrow-mindedness or a deliberate refusal to face the facts. The habit of facing facts in this area might conceivably carry over into the realm of tense international relations, and even into possible war situations.

### IV. *By what methods can the deep-seated causes underlying the specific manifestations of race prejudice be met and done away with?*

The group had faith in attacking the problem fundamentally with one general method only—education. They knew of no other method of pro-

ceeding against a condition which they found so deeply entrenched in public opinion, social custom, and ignorance. After amassing specific bodies of data bearing on the issues involved, they urged dissemination of this data and the new point of view that would come out of it, through both home and school. Parents should be reached through adult education classes. School administrators should demand an enlightened point of view from their teachers and school boards. Colleges should promote interracial conferences as well as build interracial discussion and study into their curricula. Newspapers and journals should be approached, not only with educational articles, and a fair news attitude, but individual journalists and student-journalists, who will later control, should be brought to an enlightened position. That college journalists can take the field in the interests of a fair and sympathetic public opinion was exemplified by the "Daily Californian's" barrage of editorials and student letters at the time of the initiation of the realty-covenant movement for residential segregation in the vicinity of the University of California campus at Berkeley.

This raised the issue as to whether the section wanted to go on record as favoring direct participation in specific interracial conflicts as and when they arise, or whether they believed rather in a quiet, extended interpretation of other races and their cultures, calculated to bring about fundamental understanding and sympathy. It was pointed out that probably both philosophies are important—that it is not a question of "either, or" but of "both, and."

Specifically in order to better relations on the campus between individuals of different races, informal discussions on subjects of common interest were urged. Follow-up sessions of the Lokoya Institute group at the different schools and universities were proposed and urged for two primary purposes: (1) the continuance of good fellowship found at Lokoya; (2) the facing of direct local interracial issues. Without the facing of conflicts, the discussions of Lokoya could well be counted of little value, as purely academic and divorced from reality.



### 3. "Cultural Contacts in the Pacific Area"

*Leader:* KAZUO KAWAI, Department of History, Stanford University.

#### *The Setting.*

The discussions of the section on Cultural Contacts in the Pacific Area opened with a consideration of the nature of "culture." The definition finally accepted by the group was that "culture is the sum total of all knowledge, achievements, and ideals passed on from one generation to another."

#### *The Problem of Superiority and Inferiority of Cultures.*

On this point, the Oriental delegates levied a general charge against the West that the attitude of superiority maintained by Westerners constitutes an insuperable obstacle to an equitable adjustment between the two cultures. The Western delegates immediately countered with a question as to whether or not Oriental peoples ever felt any sense of racial or national superiority. The Oriental members of the group admitted that Eastern peoples were sometimes guilty of a similar attitude to that shown by the Westerners, but asserted that there was nevertheless a considerable difference. They pointed out that the attitude of superiority among the Orientals is passive instead of active as among the Occidentals; that there is no self-conscious cult among them such as the cult of Nordic supremacy; that there is no such militant proclamation of superiority as has been made by writers like Lothrop Stoddard and Madison Grant. They also pointed out that there has been no lack of receptivity on the part of the Orient to Occidental influences; that the contacts between the Eastern and Western cultures have usually taken the form of a rigid and intolerant Western culture imposing itself on the East, leaving the East to make all the adjustments, without any attempt at adjustment on anything like a corresponding scale on the part of the West. After considerable discussion, the Western members of the group concurred in the main with the contentions of the Oriental members.

The group next considered the grounds upon which the Western sense of superiority is based, with a view to determining to what extent they might be considered valid. The group expressed the belief that the Western sense of superiority arises out of such factors as:

1. Military strength.
2. Economic achievements.
3. Belief in divinely ordained superiority.
4. Superior intelligence.
5. Scientific and political achievements.
6. Historical background.

The group then proposed to study each factor in turn to determine its soundness. But this method of dealing with the question was attacked by some of the Oriental delegates. They advanced the idea that there can be

no objective criteria for judging superiority or inferiority. The standards to be used as a yard-stick for measuring will be necessarily subjective, they claimed. The choice of the standards by which the measurements are to be made will differ according as to whether an Oriental or an Occidental is to apply the tests. There can be no agreement on the standard. Hence, all comparisons must be necessarily subjective and therefore inconclusive. The group granted the logic of this argument and accepted its truth; but inasmuch as most of the Oriental delegates expressed their willingness to be tested even by Western standards for the sake of expediency, the group proceeded to an analysis of the grounds of superiority recognized by the West.

It was conceded that in military strength the West was at present superior to the East, but it was pointed out that this condition rested upon an historical accident rather than upon inherent fighting abilities, as shown by the fact that in other periods in history, the East has shown unquestionably greater military strength, and even at present Japan has demonstrated her military strength to be on a par with that of the West.

In regard to economic organization it was again conceded that the West is at present superior to the East but it was held that such was not the case in the past and that there is no evidence to warrant the belief that Westerners possess inherently superior capacity for economic achievements.

Belief in the divinely ordained superiority of the whites was laughed out of court without much discussion, save to note that it was fostered by song and legend through such ideas as the "white man's burden."

The question of intelligence was discussed rather thoroughly. It was noted that the results of the various mental tests given to members of different races show conflicting evidence, but on the whole, when due allowance has been made for language handicaps and other qualifying factors, the bulk of the evidence seems to indicate that there is no great difference in intelligence between the different races. To conclude therefore that one race or another is superior in intelligence was considered to be unwarranted on the basis of the data available at present.

The superiority of the West in scientific and political achievements was conceded, but it was again pointed out that this superiority is a temporary phenomenon due to an historical accident rather than to any inherent superiority.

A true knowledge of historical backgrounds shows more than anything else the absence of long-continued superiority of any one group over another.

The group thus concluded that there exists no sound, reasonable basis for holding to the belief in superiority of any national or racial group over another and that any attitude of superiority manifested by any group is to be deplored.

### *Comparison of Eastern and Western Cultures.*

Turning next to a comparison of the outstanding characteristics of the two cultures, the group noted that the East should be proud of its philos-

ophy, art, education, morality, and religions. The outstanding achievements of the West were noted to be in the fields of philosophy, art, science, business efficiency, government, and education. The striking similarity in the fields of achievement was noted.

Comparison of the Eastern and Western philosophies and discussion of the points of conflict between them were taken up next. For purposes of discussion, it was agreed that the term "philosophy" was to be used not to connote any particular system of philosophy but rather a general attitude toward life. Characteristics of Eastern philosophies were noted to be: non-resistance, contentment, emphasis on future life, subjectiveness, and a static quality. Western philosophy was accredited with theoretic non-resistance but actual aggressiveness, objectiveness, emphasis on present life, and a dynamic quality. The above characterizations were qualified by the observation that in many respects Japan would not fit in with the characteristics attributed to the East; and that the characteristics attributed to the West were not true for all time but applied specifically to the present, it being obvious that the characterization would not fit Europe of the Middle Ages.

### *Missionary Activities.*

The chief point of contact between Eastern and Western philosophies occurs in the field of missionary activity, the group held. Discussion of this subject opened with a criticism of the missionary movement. The following charges were made:

1. Missionary activities have been undesirably followed by business exploitation.
2. Missionaries maintain their accustomed standard of living and tend to be condescending toward the natives.
3. Missionaries are often disrespectful toward and unappreciative of the culture of the East and adopt an iconoclastic attitude.
4. Too much emphasis is laid on denominationalism.
5. There is still a sad lack of native autonomy in the churches in spite of the steps which have been made recently in the right direction.

The majority of the group seemed to feel that on the whole missionary activities are not justified, but that they might be made justifiable if they are carried out on purely spiritual grounds and if the quality of aggression and force and political connections were done away with. The group admitted that in spite of their criticism of missionaries, there have been individual missionaries who might be considered ideal. The best remedy for the defects of the missionary movement was agreed to be that of sending out enlightened individuals.

### *Educational Activities.*

Educational activities were next considered as a channel of intercourse between cultures. A consideration of the American school system showed the following condition to be true generally regarding the study of cultures of the Pacific area:

1. In the grade schools, practically nothing is done officially, but a great deal can be accomplished for internationalism by the attitude and personality of the teacher.
2. The high school is hindered by poor text-books in geography and history, but conditions are considerably better than they used to be.
3. The universities are beginning to offer courses in Oriental history, art, philosophy, etc., on quite an extensive scale. However, much still remains to be desired. Existing facilities were shown to be often inadequately utilized.

Extra-curricular projects which promote exchange of cultures were noted and discussed at length.

The motion picture as an educational influence came in for some discussion. The group recognized the tremendous possibilities of the use of motion pictures in disseminating understanding of cultures, but deplored the fact that too often its influence is harmful because of misrepresentation of foreign characteristics.

### *Art.*

Discussion in the group of art as a factor in cultural contacts took two directions; first, the influence of Eastern art and Western art upon each other; and second, the utilization of art as a means of general cultural exchanges. In regard to the first topic, it was brought out that Eastern art is being greatly affected by Western influences. The impact of Western influences on Eastern art has had the effect of creating three main schools or tendencies in Oriental art; one school continues in the direction set by the old art of the East, one school adopts the Western style bodily, and one school attempts a synthesis of Eastern and Western styles. It was noted that Eastern art has exerted relatively little influence on the fundamental course of development of Western art, though some European schools have been somewhat influenced by Japanese theories.

In regard to the utilization of art as a means of promoting exchange of culture and of promoting international understanding, it was felt that such utilization is to be encouraged, inasmuch as all art, as an expression of common human feelings, tends to create mutual understanding. Channels through which art could be thus utilized were noted to be:

1. Formal courses in the schools dealing with comparative art.
2. Exchange exhibits.
3. Exchange lecturers.
4. Concerts.
5. Museum displays.
6. Educational tours.
7. Club programs.

It was noted, however, that due care must be exercised, for, although all art is fundamentally the same, emphasis can be so easily laid on the aspects which are bizarre, unfamiliar, and different so as to produce a result exactly the opposite to the one desired. To learn to appreciate one's own



art is a prerequisite to the appreciation of the art of other peoples, it was suggested.

### *Science.*

The contact of cultures in the realm of science offers no problem, the group agreed. The East is aware of Western achievements in the sciences and gladly accepts its contributions. The West equally welcomes any scientific achievements which may come out of the East. Science is truly international, and constitutes one field in which there is no problem of conflicts.

### *Business Activities.*

Business activities as a channel for cultural contacts was the last topic considered by the group. Political activities were touched upon incidently in the discussion of economic imperialism. The group recognized the commendable function of business in promoting international co-operation and is acting as an instrument for the exchange of cultures. But the group also noted certain attitudes and practices in business which aggravate rather than alleviate the problems arising from the contact of cultures. Such detrimental characteristics of business were thought to be:

1. Lack of cultural education among business men, leading to a lack of respect and understanding of the people of other countries with whom they deal, causing ill feeling and resentment.
2. Superiority complex on the part of Western business men dealing with the East.
3. Lack of a sense of economic world interdependence, leading to short-sighted, selfish, detrimental policies, such as:
  - a. Excessive tariffs.
  - b. Exploitation of backward peoples.
  - c. Abuse of monopoly power.
4. Economic imperialism, or the extension of economic power by undue political influence or coercion.

The group made the following suggestions as possible remedies for the detrimental aspects of international business activities:

1. More cultural education for business men.
2. Greater study of the world aspects of economics.
3. Promotion of an international commission for commercial co-operation.
4. Adherence to the League of Nations.
5. Promotion of extra-curricular discussion of economic subjects.
6. Development of a tradition of public service among business men and politicians who deal with economic policies of governments.

#### 4. "Problems of Colonial Rule in the Orient"

*Leader:* Mr. HAROLD J. NOBLE, Department of History, University of California.

##### *The Philippine Islands.*

Before the problem of the independence of the Philippines could be considered it was found necessary to review the historical background of the present situation. It was found that the demands of the Filipinos for independence are to a large extent based upon the Jones Act passed by Congress in 1916. It is especially the preamble that is cited as evidence of America's promise to grant ultimate independence to the Philippines; this preamble makes the establishment of a stable government the only prerequisite for independence. Proponents of independence insist that stable government has been achieved and does exist. The body of the Jones Act, which is really the Constitution of the Philippines, lays down the form of government for the Islands and grants a Bill of Rights similar to that in the American Constitution except that the right to bear arms and the right to trial by jury are not included.

Executing the policy of the Democratic administration Governor-General Harrison allowed responsible Filipinos to exercise the power of governing. Governor-General Wood who succeeded Harrison determined to follow the Jones Act explicitly, breaking down the tradition of responsible government. He ruled with an iron hand but did considerable good in reforming the laxity in the administration. Governor-General Stimson followed Wood's policy although he does not seem to have been strict with the Filipinos.

The desire of the United States to develop a rubber industry in the Philippines meant a new attitude on the part of this country toward independence: "big business" and investment companies shared this desire for the retention of the Islands. Opposing this view is that of American sugar and labor interests which are actively favoring independence. All of these economic motives affecting our policy have arisen since the Jones Act of 1916.

Carmi Thompson, who headed a commission of investigation to the Philippines in 1927, gave four reasons for postponing independence: (1) The lack of economic power; (2) religious warfare between the Christians and Moros; (3) the islands serve as an economic base for the United States in the Far East; (4) the Philippines require the economic protection of the United States.

Several questions on which the group could not reach a decision were discussed and recognized as entering into a consideration of the relations between the United States, the Islands and the problem of independence. They were: (1) Is aggression justifiable, either on moral or economic grounds? (2) Do the Filipinos themselves possess an adequate sense of independence and nationality? To this question the Filipino delegates gave a very vigorous affirmative answer. (3) What complications does the

international situation present? It was pointed out that if the Philippines were independent they might be seriously menaced by both peaceful penetration and forceful aggression.

In concluding, delegates suggested that the difficulties of the present situation might be solved by the establishment of independence under a protectorate which could be either or both economic and political.

### *Korea.*

As in the case of the Philippines the discussion of the problem of independence for Korea was preceded by the following historical review which revealed the causes of the present situation and the claims of the opposing factions.

Under the independent status which it formerly held the Korean government was extremely corrupt; it remained unreformed and about 1900 the impossibility of maintaining independence became evident. Annexation was not contemplated by Japan until the Russo-Japanese War; following the war Korea was ruled as a protectorate by Japan until 1910 when annexation took place. At first the Japanese attempted to govern by a civil administration; but this failed and was followed by military rule under which all Korean expression of opinion was suppressed although real material improvements were achieved. As a result of the passive revolt in Korea in 1919 Japanese popular opinion rose against the military rule. Viscount Saito was sent as Governor General and the form of government was revised toward decentralization.

The existing government is what might be called a paternal autocracy; there are no real representative institutions although there are local advisory councils. The Koreans participate for the most part as one-stripe officials, i.e., those of the lower grades. Legislation of the Japanese Diet and Japanese executive decrees are the rules that govern Korea; all higher officials are appointed from Japan. There exists no personal freedom or freedom of the press and Korean cultural development is suppressed, the Japanese language being compulsory in the schools.

In addition the land is rapidly being alienated in the form of absentee land ownership; the Koreans are becoming the tenants of the Japanese. The Koreans have found that as landowners they cannot meet expenses largely because of the heavy interest burden; hence they find tenancy more profitable. The first Korean objective is to gain control of land and banking. There is an increasing co-operative movement designed after the Danish model. There is a strong group which sees Russia as the only Korean hope; this group believes in the equal distribution of land and in direct action.

As a place for Japanese immigrants Korea has not been very successful although the Japanese government encourages her people to go to Korea. Strategically Korea is of extreme importance; besides that, Japan obtains its rice imports from Korea.

Japan has made no promise of independence and there seems to be no hope in that direction. The group felt that Korea must be under some

great power and that she has probably been better off under Japan than under China or Russia. It was mentioned that a gradual extension of local and later of national autonomy might win back for Japan a favorable public opinion. The majority believed that the greatest possibility for the happy solution of all colonial problems lay in the fact that with proper government cultural independence can exist alongside of political dependence.

### *India.*

When the group reached the subject of Indian independence it was fired to an enthusiastic discussion by the contributions of the Indian delegates present. Several members were well-informed regarding recent political history, of which the following is a brief resumé and record of the consensus of opinion on some of the major political issues:

Until the twentieth century India was governed as a colony. The Morley-Minto reforms of 1908 were an attempt to satisfy the growing aspirations of the Indian people; they included the introduction of advisory councils elected by limited suffrage.

During the war India co-operated whole-heartedly with the British, resulting in a growing sense of independence the outcome of which was the Government of India Act of 1919. This act developed the principle of associating Indians in the government; it looked toward the gradual development of responsible government under the supervision of the British who were to be the sole judges of the extension of self-government. The principle of local autonomy was established in the provinces; nationally, the government of India remains responsible to Parliament; the provinces were made independent of the central government financially. In the central government there is a bicameral legislature and a Viceroy's Council. In the provinces the system of dyarchy is in force, under which there are reserved powers (finance and police), and transferred powers (health, education, agriculture, etc.); the exercise of the latter is performed by responsible Indian ministers.

The liberal groups in India were disposed to accept the reforms embodied in the above framework of government set up in 1919. Shortly after, however, certain events occurred affecting their position: (1) The Rawlett Act, which gave the Viceroy the right of arbitrary arrest and of conducting a spy service; (2) The massacre at Amritsar; (3) The Treaty of Sevres with Turkey, which was quite hostile to the Mohammedans; (4) The British bureaucracy continually blocked reform in the government.

In the summer of 1928 a proposed constitution was drawn up by the Nationalist Congress; under this proposal the form of communal representation is revised toward universal suffrage. A place is reserved for the Mohammedans in clearly Mohammedan districts; in other electoral districts they are to contest the seats. The King of England retains his position; a Governor-General may be appointed to represent him. All other officials are to be elected. The same relationship is to exist regarding the



native states: they would continue under British protection. This project is really a Dominion constitution on the British plan; it was opposed by the native provinces which would prefer a federal plan. In December, 1928, an ultimatum was served requiring the British to accept the plan by December 31, 1929. The British failed to act; on March 2, 1930, Gandhi addressed a letter to Viceroy Irwin explaining the Indian attitude and on March 11 civil disobedience began.

The Simon Report, drawn up by a purely British commission, proposed a federal government for India without mentioning Dominion status. Under this report the dyarchy would be abolished although the British would maintain control of the border troops. The native states would, if they desired, be represented in the federation.

At the present Round Table Conference the Nationalists are not represented. The Indian Princes have come out in favor of federation; on the whole the Indian delegation has presented a united front.

Involved in the whole question brought to the foreground by Gandhi and his adherents is a social and cultural question which may be separated from the political movement. It was thought probable that Gandhi, the radical, would win over those who support independence and that perhaps after they have succeeded they will turn to a more moderate policy, not rejecting European culture entirely. Back of this sentiment was the idea that the Indians would find it undesirable to abandon all their European acquisitions. His policy of non-co-operation has been the only possible method, and it has brought India further toward independence than would otherwise have been the case. Certain Mohammedan leaders are among his followers; others believe in forceful resistance. But in the course of the discussion the question arose of what position the martial Mohammedans and the Sikhs would occupy in an independent India. It was brought out that they have considerable training, and although the Mohammedans are at present co-operating with Gandhi there is the possibility of a religious civil war. It was also noted that the British today are not in a position to employ force to the extent to which the Mohammedans would be able to use it to combat the passive resistance under similar circumstances.

It is India that has given Great Britain commercial superiority over Europe. Students of economics, however, pointed out that from the economic point of view the granting of independence on friendly terms would probably be best, for England is already suffering from the boycott. The group in its discussion of India was very liberally inclined and felt that the British were not to be blamed for their hold on India; nor was eighteenth century India to be blamed. It was suggested that Great Britain has not handled India with sufficient realization of the necessity of adjustment and was also said that she has performed a great service in arousing Indian national consciousness.

In view of the above facts the Indian delegates stood firmly with Gandhi for complete independence and the rest, having only an academic interest in the question, were willing to concede them their demands. It is too bad that a militant Britisher was not present to make arbitration necessary.

# 1930 CONFERENCE

## Plenary Session

"In view of the fact that it costs so much and takes so much time and since most of us are so young and inexperienced, it probably would be better not to meet again next year."

Twenty-one excellent reasons in favor of continuing were advanced in answer to this challenging statement made by Harry Kingman at the plenary session. Only a few arguments were suggested against having a meeting next year, and these might be considered in the light of suggested improvement rather than valid objections to the Institute itself.

According to one delegate, the chief benefit of the conference lies in the opportunity it gives for the modification of some points of view and the strengthening and sharpening of others. One learns to cultivate and maintain a mental poise, defining and revising one's convictions before attempting to defend them "bull-headedly." Antagonizing the people who do not see one's own point of view was shown to be of no benefit in the eradication of race prejudice.

Some of the reasons given for the continuance of the Institute were:

1. The valuable contacts made and perpetuated.
2. The foundation for future action and thought which is laid.
3. The alleviation, to some degree, of the suffering caused by race prejudice.
4. The factual knowledge of existing conditions which is gained.
5. The opportunity for personal friendships, resulting in practice, and not merely theory, of "interracial mindedness."
6. The advance made in the method of settling problems: minds are used instead of emotions and fists.
7. The source of inspiration and courage to members of minority races.
8. The intrinsic value it has in presenting an opportunity for the development of personal character and enrichment of one's own experience.

The following objections were made which may be considered as suggestions for improvement:

1. It is a waste of time because of lack of specialized knowledge on the part of many delegates.
2. Nothing definite is ever accomplished.
3. More delegates who are "hard-boiled" in their reactions should be invited, as they stimulate discussion.

The majority was definitely in favor of continuing the conference, and of helping similar institutes to organize in other sections of the country. Many felt that the benefits of the conference were personal and of a definite value.

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